Preliminary Edition

THE FIRST BOOK OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR

EDITED BY

HENRY PREBLE

'HE FIRST BOOK OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR

C. IULI CAESARIS

ELLI GALLICI LIBER PRIMUS

EX RECENSIONE HENRICI MENSEL EDITUS BREVI-
BUSQUE ADNOTATIONIBUS INSTRUCTUS

AB

HENRICO PREBLE

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
Boston: 4 Park Street; New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street
Chicago: 28 Lakeside Building
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton and Company.

PREFACE

This little volume containing the first book of an edition of the Gallic War is based upon the idea that ability to read Caesar is retarded rather than aided when the pupil's attention is constantly diverted by notes on technicalities, and by grammatical references. I believe that a less minute knowledge of formal grammar than is commonly supposed to be necessary will enable an average pupil to read Caesar with fair appreciation.

In pursuance of this idea I have reduced grammatical notes and references to the minimum, and have disregarded, as not helping the pupil to a better understanding of the situation immediately at hand, many matters which are generally dwelt upon. For instance, it seems to me that a mistranslation or misconception of a classical passage is seldom caused by the reader's inability to *classify* a subjunctive with cum or with ut, if he knows the meaning of the verb and notices its tense; or by inability to label an ablative as "of means" or "of specification," if he recognizes the form as ablative at all and can connect it with the words with which it belongs.

Certain cases of quantity, which, like ablatives of the first declension, are often syntactically im-

portant, or, like the penultimate of proper names, are vexatious to look up but dangerous to neglect, I have thought it wise to mark in the text.

Several matters that seemed too large for treatment in foot-notes, and yet essential to the understanding of Caesar's work, I have put into an Appendix. Such are the organization of the Roman army, and certain geographical and biographical details in regard to tribes or individuals mentioned in the text. If I have gone into biography at apparently unnecessary length, it is because Roman names, through the similarity of their endings, seem to me especially hard for the pupil to individualize.

The text is that of H. Meusel, Berlin, 1894, with some changes in the punctuation to bring it into harmony with the principles of English punctuation, and with the relegation to the foot-notes of the passages which Meusel regards (justly, it seems to me, in every case) as interpolations.

Among the various works from which I have derived assistance I am especially indebted to the editions of Caesar by Kraner-Dittenberger, Hinzpeter, and Allen & Greenough; to the account of the Roman army by Rudolf Schneider, attached to Meusel's School Edition of Caesar; and to Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft as revised by Teuffel.

H. PREBLE.

Staten Island, November, 1894.


GAUL
in the time of CEASAR.
according to
H.MEUSEL.
SCALES.
0 50 100 150
Roman Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
English Statute Miles
Greenwich
BRITANNIA
Ancalites?
Trinovantes
Tamesis R.
Segontiaci?
Bibroci?
Cantium
Portus Itius
OCEANUS
Caleti
Veliocasses
Lexovii
Venelli
Coriosolites
Ambibarii
Osismi
Redones
Diablintes
Esuvii
Aul. Eburovices
Aul. Cenomani
AREMORICAE
AULERCI
Veneti
Namnetes
Andes
Turoni
Liger R.
Ambiliati?
Pictones
Lemonum
Avaricum
Santoni
Lemovices
Petrocorii
Cocosates
Garumna R.
Uxellodunum
Eleuteti?
Vocates
Nitiobroges
Tarusates
Sotiates
Elusates
Gates
Tolosa
Tarbelli
Sibusates
Ptianii
Ausci
Bigerriones
Garumni
Cantabri
Hiberus R.
HISPANIA
Pyrenaei Montes
Tectosages



GERMANIA
Cherusci
Bacenis Silva
Sugambri
Ubii
Suebi
Hercynia Silva
Latobrigi
Danuvius R.
Sedusii?
Vangiones
Nemetes
Triboci
Tulingi
Harudes
Rhenus R.
Menapii
Eburones
Ambivariti
Ceutrones
Grudii
Pleumoxii
Atuatuca
Atuatuci
Condrusi
Segni
Caerosi
Caemani
Geidumni
Nervii
Sabis R.
Viromandui
Suessiones
Remi
Axona R.
Bibrax
Noviodunum
Durocortorum
Matrona R.
Meldi
Sequana
Senones
Agedincum
Lingones
Mandubii
Alesia
Treveri
Mosella
Mediomatrici
Leuci
Vosegus Mons
GALLIA
Magetobriga?
Vesontio
Sequani
Rauraci
Dubis R.
Arar R.
Haedui
Noviodunum
Bibracte
Decetia
Boii
Cavillonum
Matisco
Ambivareti
Aul. Brannovices
Ambarri
Segusiavi
Gergovia
Liger R.
Arverni
Vellavii
Gabali
Cebenna
Helvii
Jura Mons
Tigurinus
Pagus
Helvetii
Lacus Lemannus
Genava
Rhodanus R.
Nantuates
Veragri
Seduni
Octodurus
Lepontii
ALPES
Allobroges
Vienna
Ceutrones
Graioceli
Caturiges
Vocontii
Albioeci
Ocelum
GALLIA CISALPINA
Mediolanium
Padus R.
Placentia
Cremona
Genua
LIGURIA
Salluvii
Arelate
Massilia
Arecomici
Volcae
Pisae
MARE NOSTRUM

, BUFFALO, N. Y.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAESAR

Gaius Julius Caesar belonged to one of the oldest patrician families of Rome, and was born in July, 102 B. C. (according to the most probable view, — the common account makes the year 100 B. C.). His father's sister was the wife of Marius, and Caesar's own first wife, Cornelia, was the daughter of Cinna, so that he was closely connected with the so-called popular party. His refusal, when not more than twenty years old, to divorce Cornelia at the bidding of the dictator Sulla, drove Caesar from Rome with almost nothing but his life left him, and is typical of his invincible resolution and indomitable courage.

When as proconsul he entered upon the administration of Gaul in 58 B. C. he had filled the regular series of political offices at Rome, but had seen very little military service. Yet the early years of his Gallic campaigns show him to have been one of the four or five greatest generals the world has ever seen. Ever since the time of the Gracchi (133 B. C.) the Roman Republic had, from various causes, been steadily disintegrating. There was less and less political and moral vigor in the senate and in the body of the people; the traditional institutions and forms of the government were showing themselves more and more inadequate to the situation of the Roman world; and the actual civil wars of *Sulla* and Marius and Cinna had left the coun-

try in a condition in which further bloodshed was almost or quite inevitably a question of time. The conflict came as Caesar's ten years as governor of Gaul were drawing to a close, and, whatever opinion one may hold as to Caesar's share of responsibility for the war, it is impossible to doubt that his victory was in the interests both of Rome and of the after-world. The reforms he introduced into the constitution and administration of the Roman state prove him to have been among the very greatest statesmen who have ever lived.

That Caesar was also an orator and a writer with few equals, of his own time or any other, is amply shown by Cicero's praise of him, and by such of his writings (seven books upon the Gallic War and three upon the Civil War) as have come down to us. A lost work on grammatical subjects, and his reform of the calendar bringing it practically into the shape in which we still use it, show the variety of studies for which he found time in the midst of his varied and crowded career.

He was not yet fifty-eight years old when he was assassinated on the 15th of March, 44 B. C. In spite of attacks upon his private character such as all great men are exposed to, the balance of evidence points to the conclusion that morally Caesar stood distinctly above the great majority of his contemporaries, and could even bear comparison with the average man of to-day.

C. IULI CAESARIS

BELLI GALLICI

LIBER PRIMUS

I. GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitāni, tertiam qui ipsorum linguā Celtae, nostrā Galli appellantur. Hi omnes linguā, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitānis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrŏna et Sequăna divĭdit. Horum omnium fortis-

1. **Gallia.** Caesar uses this name here in a narrower sense than that which we are in the habit of giving to the term "Gaul." He is writing of the country as the scene of his campaigns, and therefore leaves out of consideration the Roman province (afterwards called Gallia Narbonensis) and that part of the Italian peninsula known as Gallia Cisalpina. This latter, indeed, was already coming to be regarded as a portion of Italy. Cf. Ch. X.

2. **aliam.** The slight difference between the use of **aliam** here and that of **altera** in Ch. II. (page 9, line 10) may be illustrated in English by two sentences like the following:—

"George received one book, Jack *another*, and James the third;" and "George received one book, Jack *the second*, and James the third."

2, 3. **Belgae, Aquitani, Celtae.** For a brief account of these peoples, see Appendix I.

6. **dividit.** For the number of the verb, see A. & S. **320** (1); A. & G. **205**, *f;* G. **285**, 2; H. **463**, 3.

6. Notice that the words **horum omnium** refer to the subject of **differunt** in the second line above, thus leaping over the *intervening* sentence.

simi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; proximique sunt Germānis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Quā de causā Helvētii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germānis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.

1. **Cultus** is the greater comfort and the higher standard of living that civilized prosperity brings; **humanitas** is the feeling, quickened by enlightenment and wider human intercourse, of the bond between man and man as beings of one race. Both, by softening the savage instincts, diminish the manifestation of that crude kind of physical courage which warlike people understand by the word "bravery."

2, 3. **minime . . . saepe commeant.** Caesar means that the Belgians have less trade with civilized nations than the other inhabitants of Gaul have; the words **saepe commeant** belong closely together as an expression denoting the frequent coming and going of the traders, and **minime** modifies this combined expression.

7. **Helvetii.** See Appendix I.

10. In the manuscripts of Caesar's writings, as they have come down to us, there is an addition to this chapter which there is strong reason to believe Caesar never wrote. As the passage is regularly printed in editions of Caesar, it seems best to give it here, although undesirable to inflict it upon the reader in the body of the text. It is as follows: —

Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

II. Apud Helvētios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetŏrix. Is, M. Messalla, M. Pisōne consulibus, regni cupiditate inductus, coniurationem nobilitatis fecit, et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci naturā Helvētii continentur: unā ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvētium a Germānis divĭdit; alterā ex parte monte Iurā altissimo, qui est inter Sequănos et Helvētios; tertiā lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodăno, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvētiis divĭdit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possunt; quā ex parte

2. The manuscripts have **et** between the names of the consuls. and wrongly add **P.** as a praenomen to **Pisone**, but I omit these from the text for the reason given in the last note on the preceding page.

2. **consulibus.** This was the year 61 B. C. Both consuls (M. Valerius Messalla Niger and M. Pupius Piso) were men of some note. For details of their lives, see Appendix II. Caesar entered Gaul in the spring of 58 B. C.

5. **exirent.** For the plural verb with its subject supplied from the collective idea in **civitati,** see A. & S. **346** (1); A. & G. **205,** *c*, 1; G. **211** (*a*); H. **461,** 1.

5. **esse.** For the infinitive depending upon an implied verb of saying, see A. & S. **515** (2), in conjunction with **522**; A. & G. **336,** note 2; G. **650** in conjunction with **648,** Remark 1; H. **523, I,** note.

5. For **cum** in the sense of "since," "inasmuch as," see A. & S. **510** (2); A. & G. **326**; G. **586**; H. **517.**

10. **altera.** Cf. note on **aliam,** page 7.

15. **parte.** It is instructive to compare this metaphorical use of **pars** (= from this side of things, from this point of view, in consequence of this, brooding over this) with the literal *meaning of the* word in lines 8 and 10 above.

homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloriā belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

III. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetŏrĭgis permoti, constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinērent comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Orgetŏrix (dux) deligitur. Is legationem ad civitates suscipit. In eo itinere persuādet Castĭco, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequăno, cuius pater regnum in Sequănis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romāni amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate suā occuparet, quod pater ante habuerit; itemque Dumnŏrĭgi Haeduo, fratri Diviciăci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuādet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata

4, 5. **milia passuum . . . patebant.** The Roman mile was about 425 feet shorter than the English mile. Therefore these distances are in our measure a little more than 220 and 165 miles respectively.

14. For the reason given in the last note on page 8, the words **ad eas res conficiendas** have been omitted after **confirmant,** and the word **sibi** has been omitted after **Is.**

21. For what is known of Diviciacus (generally misspelled Divitiacus), see Appendix II.

24. ***esse.*** Cf. note on the same word, page 9.

24. ***probat.*** *For* the use of the present tense thus to denote an

perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvētii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter se fidem et ius iurandum dant, et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

IV. Ea res est Helvētiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetŏrīgem ex vinculis causam dicere coegerunt; damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constitutā causae dictionis Orgetŏrix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratūs cogerent, Orgetŏrix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvētii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

attempted action (**probat** = he tries to show, tries to make them see, that), see A. & S. **464**; A. & G. **276,** *b;* G. **227,** note 2; H. **467,** 6.

6, 7. **tres . . . populos.** *I. e.* the Helvetii, Haedui, and Sequani. For information with regard to them, see Appendix I.

11. **Damnatum** agrees with a pronoun understood as object of **sequi**; **poenam sequi,** with **ut igni cremaretur** in apposition with **poenam,** is subject of **oportebat.** We may therefore translate, "if condemned, the punishment of being burned alive would have to be inflicted upon him."

13. **omnem suam familiam.** *I. e.* all the people so related to him by blood or otherwise that they acknowledged a certain allegiance to him.

20. **Mortuus est** is equivalent to "was found dead." Some *authorities hold that* Orgetorix killed himself in prison, but the

V. Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvētii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne, praeter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublatā paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molĭta cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre iubent. Persuādent Raurăcis et Tulingis et Latobrīgis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustīs unā cum iis proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Norĭcum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

VI. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequănos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodănum, vix quā singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissi-

better opinion seems to be that he never was in prison, but foreseeing that, in spite of his success in escaping the first trial, he was unlikely to succeed a second time, and that conviction and punishment were sure to follow, he chose to kill himself rather than suffer arrest again.

5. **Reliqua** does not belong with **aedificia** as an attributive adjective, but **privata aedificia** is in apposition with **reliqua.** The words thus mean "the rest, namely, their isolated buildings" (*i. e.* farms, etc.).

9. **molita.** From **molere.**

13. **incoluerant.** Caesar seems to have been unaware that the Tulingi and Latobrigi, though much nearer neighbors of the Helvetii, also lived **trans Rhenum.** For further details, see Appendix I.

14. **Noricum** corresponded to what is now southeastern Bavaria and northwestern Austria, including the Tyrol. Noreia, in its eastern part, was about 350 miles from the Helvetian boundary.

mus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvētiorum et Allobrŏgum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodănus fluit isque non nullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrŏgum est proximumque Helvētiorum finibus Genāva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvētios pertinet. Allobrŏgibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romānum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, quā die ad ripam Rhodăni omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. L. Pisōne, A. Gabīnio consulibus.

VII. Caesări cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genāvam pervenit.

4. **nuper.** Three years before, namely 61 B. C., by the praetor C. Pomptinus. For what is known of him, see Appendix II., and for some account of the Allobroges, see Appendix I.

7. **Genava.** See map, C 7.

14. **consulibus.** The year 58 B. C. Piso was Caesar's father-in-law. For some account of him and of Gabinius, see Appendix II. The day according to the old Roman calendar, as given here, was, of course, March 28, but according to our calendar (introduced later by Caesar himself) it was April 16. Various apparent peculiarities of the seasons as indicated by the dates in the Gallic War will be understood better if the difference in the calendars be kept in mind.

16. **Ab urbe**, not **ex urbe**, because, although Caesar was attending to certain matters at Rome, the law compelled him, as a proconsul with the military power called **imperium**, to reside for the time being outside of the walls of the city. **Urbs** means Rome as a rule, unless the context makes it immediately evident that such is not the case.

Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat, — erat omnino in Galliā ulteriore legio una, — pontem, qui erat ad Genāvam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius adventu Helvētii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nammeius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoriā tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvētiis pulsum et sub iugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines inimīco animo datā facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos ab iniuriā et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respon-

1. **Provinciae.** *I. e.* the Roman province (the **provinciam nostram** of the first two lines of this chapter). Afterward called Gallia Narbonensis.

3. **legio una.** This was the famous "Tenth."

9. **Quod aliud iter haberent nullum** means "because OTHER road they *had* none." Though differences of type can mark but roughly the delicate shades of emphasis indicated by differences of order in a Latin clause, it is especially interesting to note in a clause of this kind the effect of changing the order. Thus, **quod nullum aliud iter haberent** may be approximately represented by "because *other* road they had NONE;" **quod nullum haberent aliud iter** by "because NO *other* road did they *have;*" **quod haberent nullum aliud iter** by "because they HAD *no other* road;" **quod iter aliud haberent nullum** by "because they *had* no *other* ROAD;" etc.

11. **Cassium.** This was in the year 107 B. C., during the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutoni. L. (Calpurnius) Piso Caesoninus, the grandfather of Caesar's father-in-law, was a *lieutenant* under Cassius, and fell in this battle, as we shall see *in Ch. XII.*

dit, diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. Aprīl. reverterentur.

VIII. Interea eā legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provinciā convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodănum influit, ad montem Iuram, qui fines Sequănorum ab Helvētiis divĭdit, milia passuum XVIIII, murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere posset. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romāni posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit. Helvētii eā spe deiecti navibus iunctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodăni, quā minima altitudo fluminis erat, non numquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt.

IX. Relinquebatur una per Sequănos via, quā Sequănis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant.

1. **Diem** = "time."

2. **Id. April.** *I. e.* April 13, or, by our reckoning, May 2.

5. **influit.** A rather odd expression, from our point of view, to indicate the outflow of the lake by means of the river.

7, 8. **murum . . . fossamque.** For an account of these fortifications, see Appendix IV.

12, 13. **More et exemplo** = custom and precedent. The two words of practically the same meaning are used to give the expression greater force.

15, 16. **Helvetii . . . alii** = "the great body of the Helvetii . . . others," etc.

18. **possent.** For this kind of indirect question see A. & S. **518**, *d;* A. & G. **334**, *f;* G. **460** (*b*); H. **529**, II, 1, *note 1*.

His cum suā sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnŏrīgem Haeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequănis impetrarent. Dumnŏrix gratiā et largitione apud Sequănos plurimum poterat, et Helvētiis erat amicus, quod ex eā civitate Orgetŏrīgis filiam in matrimonium duxerat; et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequănis impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvētios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequăni, ne itinere Helvētios prohibeant, Helvētii, ut sine maleficio et iniuriā transeant.

X. Caesări nuntiatur, Helvētiis esse in animo per agrum Sequănorum et Haeduorum iter in Santŏnūm fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosātium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provinciā. Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romāni inimīcos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni, quam fecerat, T. Labiēnum legatum praeficit; ipse in Ităliam magnis iti-

1. **legatos.** Inasmuch as Dumnorix, although a powerful noble, was not an official personage, it is better to translate **legatos** by the collective expression "a delegation" than to use the term "ambassadors" here.

6. **filiam . . . duxerat.** Cf. Ch. III. (page 10).

15. **Santonum.** See map, D 3 and 4. The form is the old-fashioned genitive of the second declension. Cf. **Santonos,** end of Ch. XI. For a discussion of the somewhat long distance of the Santoni from the Roman province, see Appendix IV. Cf. also Appendix I.

16. **Tolosatium.** See map, E 4. Their chief town, **Tolōsa,** is the modern Toulouse.

21. For a brief biography of Labienus, see Appendix II.

22. Italiam. I. e. the part more commonly called Gallia *Cisalpina at this time.*

neribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, quā proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Ceutrōnes et Graiocĕli et Caturĭges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis ab Ocĕlo, quod est (oppidum) citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervĕnit; inde in Allobrŏgum fines, ab Allobrŏgibus in Segusiāvos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodănum primi.

XI. Helvētii iam per angustias et fines Sequănorum suas copias traduxerant et in Haeduorum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. Haedui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesărem mittunt rogatum auxilium: ita se omni tempore de populo Romāno meritos esse, ut paene in

2. **Aquileia** was founded by the Romans in 183–182 B. C. in the region called Venetia at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and quickly became a very prominent city.

3. **iter.** This route was by way of the modern city of Turin and over Mt. Genèvre. The road over Mt. Cenis is shorter, but its use dates back only to the time of Augustus.

4. **quinque legionibus.** These five legions were probably the seventh, eighth, and ninth (from the winter quarters near Aquileia), and the eleventh and twelfth (newly recruited), which, with the tenth, that was in farther Gaul, made Caesar an army of six legions. For the organization of the Roman army in Caesar's time, see Appendix III.

7. **Compluribus . . . pulsis.** These four words are intertwined in a rhetorical fashion that finely illustrates the elasticity of word-order in Latin. Grammatically the first and third and the second and fourth belong together,—"having routed these in several battles."

17. **omni tempore.** The Haedui had been called *socii populi Romani* as early as 121 B. C.

conspectu exercitūs nostri agri vastari, liberi in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Haeduorum, Caesărem certiorem faciunt, sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobrŏges, qui trans Rhodănum vicos possessionesque habebant, fugā se ad Caesărem recipiunt, et demonstrant, sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santŏnos Helvētii pervenirent.

XII. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Haeduorum et Sequănorum in Rhodănum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat iudicari non possit. Id Helvētii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est, tres iam partes copiarum Helvētios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere partem citra flumen Arărim reliquam esse, de tertiā vigiliā cum legionibus

1. I have omitted **eorum** after **liberi** here. See last note on page 8.

3. I have omitted **Haedui** after **tempore** here. See last note on page 8.

9. **reliqui.** For this partitive genitive, see A. & S. **355** (5); A. & G. **216,** *a*, 1; G. **369,** and Remark 2; H. **397,** 3.

12. **Flumen est Arar.** The most exact English equivalent for this form of expression is perhaps, "There is a river called the Saône, which," etc.

12, 13. **per fines . . . influit.** Not as the boundary between the two peoples (that would be indicated by **praeter**, or **inter**, or by the verb **dividere**), but sometimes in the territory of one, sometimes in that of the other.

19. **De** in expressions of time properly means "from the beginning of," "in the early part of," and seems to be so used here. From this meaning it easily weakened into a simple "during."

19. **vigilia.** The night, reckoned from sunset to sunrise

tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervēnit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes adgressus, magnam partem eorum concīdit; reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurīnus: nam omnis civitas Helvētia in quattuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoriā L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive casu sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvētiae insignem calamitatem populo Romāno intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Quā in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisōnis avum, L. Pisōnem legatum, Tigurīni eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

XI... proelio facto reliquas copias Helvētiorum ... ui posset, pontem, in Arări faciendum

...four vigiliae or watches. The third watch,
...egins at twelve o'clock, though the length of
...with the season of the year. Caesar started
... after midnight.

...f adding to a statement a sort of
...troducing this simply by a word
...sh, "you see" or "you know"
...r to our habit of thought, and
...pleasantly until we become used

...the districts was called Verbi-
..., according to others, Urbigenus.
...have not come down to us.
...107 B. C. Cf. note on Cassium,

...ter Calpurnia was Caesar's last wife.
...rried four times.
...slightly different point of view, the

curat atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvētii repentino eius adventu commoti cum id, quod ipsi diebus XX aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cuius legationis Divĭco princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiāno dux Helvētiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesăre egit: si pacem populus Romānus cum Helvētiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvētios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romāni et pristĭnae virtutis Helvētiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii qui flumen transissent suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute contenderent quam dolo aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romāni et internecione exercitūs nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

XIV. His Caesar ita respondit: eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvētii commemorassent, memoriā teneret, atque eo gravius ferre,

Romans spoke of building a bridge "in" or "upon" a river, where we say "over" one.

5, 6. **qui . . . fuerat.** A tolerably old man, therefore, by this time (58 B. C.).

8. **in eam partem ituros.** These words seem to imply, on the part of the Helvetii, a willingness to go only somewhere outside of their own country, not a readiness to return thither.

9. **Eos** is both object of **constituisset** (= "should locate," or, strictly, "should have located"), and subject of **esse**.

15. The common construction of **tribuere** with a direct object seems more natural to us than this use of the verb with an *adverb,* — **ne magnopere tribueret** = "let him not," or "he *ought not to,* set great store by."

quo minus merito populi Romāni accidissent; qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret, quare timeret, neque sine causā timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrŏgas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod suā victoriā tam} insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se impune iniurias intulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat, et si Haeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrŏgibus satis faciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divĭco respondit: ita Helvētios a maioribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuērint; eius rei populum Romānum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

1. **Qui** is the subject of **fuisset**, and, with **si**, is equivalent to "for if they."

9–11. **Quod . . . admirarentur.** Divico's remarks, as quoted by Caesar above, do not contain anything to which this clause is a direct answer. Caesar's words seem rather to refer to the spirit (and probably language) of the Helvetians in general as observed by himself.

21. A superficial glance might lead one to demand the order **accipere obsides, non dare,** but closer consideration shows the slightly different point of view of Caesar's emphasis — "as to hostages, it was their habit to receive, not to give them."

XV. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provinciā et Haeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvētiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvētii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere non numquam, et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapīnis populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter XV iter fecerunt, ŭtĭ inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

XVI. Interim cotidie Caesar Haeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter

1. **movent.** With a view to carrying out their plan in spite of Caèsar.

4. Such expressions as **coactum habebat** show how the compound tenses of the active voice grew in English and other modern languages, but are not, of course, quite equivalent to those tenses. The expression here, for instance, conveyed to the Roman mind the form of idea that we can represent by "the cavalry which he had, having got it together from," etc.

10. **propulerant.** The Helvetians would seem to have had a right to be somewhat elated at having routed eight times their own number of cavalry, and, though Caesar naturally puts his defeat in a mild light, it must have had its influence on his policy and on the attitude of the Haeduans as described below.

13. **praesentia.** Notice that this word is the neuter acc. plural of the adj., not the abl. sing. of the fem. noun.

13. After **rapinis** I have omitted **pabulationibus.** Cf. last *note on page 8.*

18. ***flagitare.*** For this "historical" use of the infinitive, see *A. & S. 530, a;* A. & G. **275**; G. **647**; H. **536**, 1.

frigora non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat; eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arări navibus subvexerat, propterea ūtī minus poterat, quod iter ab Arări Helvētii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Haedui: conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Diviciăco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vĕrgŏbrĕtum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi possit, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim cum magnā ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

XVII. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesăris adductus quod antea tacuerat proponit: esse non nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magis-

1. After **frigora** I have omitted the clause, **quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est.** Cf. last note on page 8.

6. **Diem** is not object of **ducere,** but an acc. of time, the phrase **diem ex die** being equivalent to "day after day." **Ducere** means "protract" or "delay" the matter in question.

6. **ducere.** For this "historical" use of the infinitive, see A. & S. **530,** *a;* A. & G. **275**; G. **647**; H. **536,** 1.

11. **vergobretum.** This is the Latinized form of the Celtic title "guerg breth," meaning "dispenser of justice."

18. **destitutus.** It was bad enough that they did not give him material support (cf. **sublevetur**), but still worse that they *seemed to withdraw* their friendship and moral support.

tratūs. Hos seditiosā atque imprŏbā oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant quod debeant: praestare, si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romānorum imperia perferre, neque dubitare debere, quin, si Helvētios superaverint Romāni, una cum reliquā Galliā Haeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab isdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari; hos a se coerceri non posse. Quin etiam quod necessariam rem coactus Caesări enuntiarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit tacuisse.

XVIII. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnŏrĭgem, Diviciăci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet. Quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: ipsum esse Dumnŏrĭgem, summā audaciā,

3. **praestare.** Depending on the idea of saying implied in **deterrere**, "saying it was better to," or "it was better, they said, to," etc. Cf. note on **esse**, page 9.

9. **se.** It will be remembered that Liscus was chief magistrate of the Haedui. Cf. Ch. XVI. (page 23).

16. **Concilium** (from the same root as **clamare**) is a body of persons called together to listen to propositions and then vote, without taking an active part in the discussion; **consilium** (from same root as **consulere**) is a body of persons who deliberate upon measures, discuss, and then advise or decide upon them. It should be said, however, that this distinction was not always rigorously observed by the Roman writers.

19. **esse.** Caesar felt, before investigating them, that the statements made by Liscus were true; therefore, after investigation, he says, "he FINDS that they *are* true." If he had undertaken to investigate without any notion one way or the other *but merely to discover* the truth, he would have said **vera esse,** *"(finds that) they are true."*

19. "It was Dumnorix himself," *i. e.* "Dumnorix was the man."

magnā apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratiā, cupidum rerum novarum. Complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Haeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatūs suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse, atque huius potentiae causā matrem in Biturĭgĭbus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo conlocasse; ipsum ex Helvētiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates conlocasse. Favere et cupere Helvētiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesărem et Romānos, quod eorum adventu potentia eius deminuta et Diviciăcus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romānis, summam in spem per Helvētios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi Romāni non modo de regno, sed etiam de eā quam habeat gratiā desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium fugae factum a Dumnŏrĭge atque eius equi-

4. **redempta habere.** Cf. **coactum habebat**, Ch. XV., and the note on it. For some account of the subject of tax farming, see Appendix IV.

4, 5. **quod . . . nemo.** The order in this clause shows that it means "because when HE was bidding nobody *dared* BID AGAINST him." Cf. note on **quod . . . nullum**, page 14.

10. **Potentia** is the power one acquires by his own resources or character, one's "influence;" **potestas**, power bestowed by the laws or government, the power of office, "authority."

22. **quod proelium.** Lit. "as to what battle," *i. e.* "in regard to the cavalry battle which," etc.

24. I have omitted the word **eius** which stands after **initium** *in the manuscripts.* Cf. last note on page 8.

tibus, — nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesări Haedui miserant, Dumnŏrix praeerat: eorum fugā reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

XIX. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequănorum Helvētios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret aut civitatem animadvertere iuberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Diviciăci fratris summum in populum Romānum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, iustitiam, temperantiam cognoverat; nam ne eius supplicio Diviciăci animum offenderet verebatur. Itaque prius quam quicquam conaretur, Diviciăcum ad se vocari iubet et cotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valĕrium Troucillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo conloquitur; simul commonefacit, quae ipso praesente in concilio de Dumnŏrĭge sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur, ut sine eius offensione animi vel ipse de eo causā cognitā statuat vel civitatem statuere iubeat.

XX. Diviciăcus multis cum lacrimis Caesărem complexus obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex

19. Nothing further is known of this Troucillus, but the name occurs upon inscriptions relative to Gaul.

22. I have omitted **Gallorum** after **concilio**. Cf. last note *on page 8.*

29. The emphasis implied by the order **esse vera** may seem a

eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratiā plurimum domi atque in reliquā Galliā, ille minimum propter adulescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesăre gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non suā voluntate factum; quā ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesăre peteret, Caesar eius dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat; tanti eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnŏrĭgem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Diviciăco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnŏrĭgi custodes ponit, ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur scire possit.

XXI. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus

trifle unnatural, but it will be seen not to be so, if one translates "the accusations *were* true, he KNEW," etc. Cf. note on **esse**, page 24.

20. **dicit.** Those who regard Caesar as a tyrant and arrant hypocrite say that he here pretends to do out of regard for Diviciacus what he really did only from policy, because Dumnorix was so powerful. It is, of course, not to be supposed that Caesar's action was due to a purely sentimental attachment to Diviciacus, — he does not himself hint that it was, — but it is not just to exaggerate the less disinterested of the two motives, or to leave the other altogether out of sight in forming one's *opinion in the* matter.

hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab i castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qua circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent misit. Renu tum est facilem esse. De tertiā vigiliā T. Labiē legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus e ducibus qui iter cognoverant, summum iugum m ascendere iubet; quid sui consili sit ostendit. de quartā vigiliā eodem itinere quo hostes ie ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se m P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habet et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. C fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

XXII. Prima luce, cum summus mons a Lab teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius m et quingentis passibus abesset neque, ut poste captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Lat cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum ac rit, dicit montem, quem a Labiēno occupari volu ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque signibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proxi collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labiēnus, ut e praeceptum a Caesăre, ne proelium comm ipsius copiae prope hostium castra undique uno tempore in hos occupato nostros expecta

3. **ascensus.** *I. e.* to
would be to make a détou
4. **De . . . vigilia**
5. **legatum pro**
8. **quarta.**
that latitude
10. N
know

Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri et Helvētios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiavisse. Eo die quo consuērat intervallo hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

XXIII. Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Haeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit; (itaque) iter ab Helvētiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemĭli, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvētii, seu quod timore perterritos Romānos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus lo[illegible]patis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, [illegible] frumentariā intercludi posse conf[illegible]ent, [illegible] consilio atque itinere conve[illegible] agmine insequi ac lacessere c[illegible]

[illegible] animum advertit, copias suas [illegible] llem subduxit equitatumque, [illegible] misit. Ipse interim [illegible] instruxit legionum [illegible]

[illegible] ity of Bibracte is the [illegible] led with Bibrax men- [illegible]

[illegible] erters (that would be [illegible] ho had come to camp [illegible] o the enemy.

[illegible] n of this Aemilius.

[illegible] the cavalry in the Roman [illegible]

[illegible] is formation, see Appendix

quattuor veteranarum. in summo iugo duas legion quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, omnia auxilia conlocari, sarcinas in unum locum c ferri, et eum ab iis qui in superiore acie constiter: muniri iussit. Helvētii cum omnibus suis carris cuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; i confertissimā acie reiecto nostro equitatu, phalai factā, sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

XXV. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex c spectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium peric spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium cc misit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile h tium phalangem perfregerunt. Eā disiectā, glac destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis mag ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eor scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et conligatis, c ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinis impeditā satis commode pugnare poterant, multi diu iactato bracchio, praeoptarent scutum manu en tere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneril defessi, et pedem referre et, quod mons aberat circi mille passūs, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto mo et succedentibus nostris, Boi et Tulingi, qui ho

1. I have omitted **ita ut supra se** after **veteranarum.** last note on page 8.

1. **duas legiones.** The eleventh and twelfth. Cf. note **quinque legionibus**, page 17.

3. I have omitted **ac totum montem hominibus compl et interea** after **conlocari.** Cf. last note on page 8.

7. **phalange.** For an account of the phalanx, see Appen III.

10. **omnium.** This refers, of course, to his officers and ot mounted men of his staff, not to the cavalry itself.

21. **pedem referre.** Notice that this expression is not te ...*rtere.* They do not fly, but draw back in good order.

... ***Tulingi.*** See Appendix I.

num milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros (ab) latere aperto adgressi circumvenire, et id conspicati Helvētii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romāni conversa signa bipertito intulerunt : prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

XXVI. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetūs non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab horā septimā ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coiciebant et non nulli inter carros raedasque matăras ac tragulas subiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetŏrĭgis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eāque totā nocte continenter ierunt; in fines Lingŏnum die quarto

9. **ancipiti.** This word has here its literal meaning of "two-headed," "facing two ways."

13, 14. **hora septima.** This was about one o'clock at that season of the year in that latitude.

18. The **carrus** was a two-wheeled baggage-wagon; the **raeda** a four-wheeled conveyance, used especially for transporting the women and children.

19. **Matara** was rather a heavy broad-headed spear; **tragula,** a light javelin, hurled by means of a strap attached to it.

24. I have omitted **nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso** *after* **ierunt.** Cf. last note on page 8.

pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingŏnas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve aliā rē iuvarent: qui si iuvissent, se eodem loco quo Helvētios habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

XXVII. Helvētii omnium rerum inopiā adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum expectare iussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervēnit, obsides, arma, servos qui ad eos perfugissent poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, circiter hominum milia VI eius pagi qui Verbigĕnus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tantā multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, primā nocte e castris Helvētiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germānorum contenderunt.

2. I have omitted **triduum morati** after **nostri**. Cf. last note on page 8.

3. **Lingonas**. See map, B 6. Their chief town was called **Andomatunum** or **Andematunnum**, and occupied the site of the modern Langres.

10. **flentes**. We of the more phlegmatic northern nations are sometimes struck with the frequent weeping spoken of in the classics as indulged in by men, and brave men, too, not only among the barbarians, but among the Romans themselves. When inclined to sneer at this as weakness, we ought to remember the impulsiveness of the southern peoples and not judge them too strictly by ourselves.

14. I have omitted **nocte intermissa** after **conferuntur**. *Cf. last note on* page 8.

15. ***Verbigenus.*** Cf. note on quattuor, page 19.

XXVIII. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, his uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit; reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes obsidibus armis, perfugis traditis in deditionem accepit. Helvētios, Tulingos, Latobrīgos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrŏgĭbus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent; ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere iussit. Id eā maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvētii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germāni, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, (ex) suis finibus in Helvētiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrŏgĭbusque essent. Boios petentibus Haeduis, quod egregiā virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis conlocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea

4. **habuit.** *I. e.* had them killed.

6. For some reason the **Rauraci**, who are named with the others in Ch. V., are not accounted for here. They could not have been all destroyed, for they appear later as living in the neighborhood of the modern Bâle in Switzerland.

8. **tolerarent.** *I. e.* by removing it. This sort of overcharged construction, by which more is implied than the words used express when taken separately, is very common in Latin, and is one of the things that make the ability to understand the language without translating so valuable.

15. **Allobrogibus.** For some account of this people, see Appendix I. They had been added to the Roman province but recently, and therefore it was especially undesirable to have warlike and independent foreign tribes settle next to them.

18. **postea.** They are described in Book VII., Chs. IX. and X., as still dependent on the Haedui, and they probably became independent as a reward for their faithful service in the war against Vercingetorix in 52 B. C. This circumstance furnishes

in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

XXIX. In castris Helvētiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesărem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim, (quot) pueri, senes mulieresque. Summa erat capitum Helvētiorum milium CCLXIII, Tulingorum milium XXXVI, Latobrīgorum XIIII, Raurăcorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his qui arma ferre possent ad milia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

XXX. Bello Helvētiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesărem gratulatum convenerunt: intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvētiorum iniuriis populi Romāni ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu Galliae quam populi Romāni accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas

one of the reasons for believing that Caesar did not write his Gallic War before the winter of 52–51 B. C.

4. **Graecis.** But in the Celtic language, of course. That had no alphabet of its own.

7. **et.** Notice that this **et** connects **relatae** with **repertae**, not with **confectae**.

7. I have omitted the words **quarum omnium rerum** after **mulieresque**. Cf. last note on page 8.

20. I have omitted **terrae** after **usu**. Cf. last note on page 8.

20. **Galliae.** *I. e.* of Gaul proper, not including the Belgae and Aquitani.

21. **florentissimis.** There is no real contradiction, as some editors think, between this epithet and what is said of the Helvetii in Ch. II. The Helvetii made no claim to a lack of complete material prosperity; they were simply discontented w

Helvētii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magnā copiā deligerent, quem ex omni Galliā oportunissimum ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesăris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Eā re permissā diem concilio constituerunt et iure iurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

XXXI. Eo concilio dimisso īdem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesărem reverterunt petieruntque, uti sibi secreto de suā omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Eā re impetratā sese omnes flentes Caesări ad pedes proiecerunt: non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent, propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Diviciăcus Haeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterīus principatum tenere Haeduos,

the narrowness of their quarters and vexed by the geographical difficulty of making war on their neighbors. Furthermore, **florentissimis** does not express the feelings of the Helvetii, but those of the other Gallic tribes.

12. **idem.** Notice that this is the *plural* nominative, occasionally found instead of the usual **iidem.**

13. **qui ante fuerant.** One of those little turns of expression so unexpectedly like the English that the attentive student always greets them with delight.

14. I have omitted the words **in occulto** after **secreto.** Cf. last note on page 8.

17. **dixissent.** This form represents, of course, a future perfect — "what they should have said," or, better, "what they *were going to say.*"

alterīus Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de pote inter se multos annos contenderent, factum ess ab Arvernis Sequănisque Germāni mercede ar rentur. Horum primo circiter milia XV Rh transisse; postea quam agros et cultum et copias lorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, trad plures; nunc esse in Galliā ad C et XX miliu merum. Cum his Haeduos eorumque clientes atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam cala tem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omne natum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus p calamitatibusque fractos, qui et suā virtute et p Romāni hospitio atque amicitiā plurimum ar Galliā potuissent, coactos esse Sequănis obsides nobilissimos civitatis et iure iurando civitatem ob gere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxil populo Romāno imploraturos neque recusaturo minus perpetuo sub illorum dicione atque im essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Haedu qui adduci non potuerit, ut iuraret aut liberos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate prof et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postul quod solus neque iure iurando neque obsidibus retur. Sed peius victoribus Sequănis quam H victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex G

11. **omnem . . . amisisse.** A kind of exaggeration c not only to the impetuous southern races, but to most ex natures when they have a point to urge, and not to be to placently stigmatized by the colder-blooded.

18. **dicione atque imperio.** A combination of two cally equivalent words like the expression, more et ex *noted on page 15.*

25. Ariovistus. Little or nothing further than what *lls us is known* of this vigorous German warrior, exc *obably* belonged to the tribe called Suebi and li *that is* now Baden.

norum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequăni, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de alterā parte tertiā Sequănos decedere iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harūdum milia hominum XXIIII ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germāni Rhenum transirent; neque enim conferendum esse Gallĭcum cum Germānorum agro neque hanc consuetudinem victūs cum illā comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobrigam superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatūsque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem eius facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse eius imperia diutius sustineri. Nisi quid in Caesăre populoque Romāno sit auxili, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvētii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germānis, petant fortunamque, quaecumque accidat, experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus qui apud eum sint gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesărem vel auctoritate suā atque exercitūs vel recenti victoriā vel

5. **Harudum.** See map, C 6. Nothing else definite is known of these people.

10. **neque . . . comparandam.** That is, the Gallic territory was so much more fertile and the Gallic style of life so much more civilized than the German, that no one, after becoming acquainted with the former, would be content with the latter, not even the Germans themselves.

13. **Magetobrigam.** See map, C 6. The position and even *the name of this* place are disputed points.

nomine populi Romāni deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germānorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuriā posse defendere.

XXXII. Hac oratione ab Diviciăco habitā omnes qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesăre petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequănos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa esset miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequăni respondere, sed in eādem tristitiā taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, īdem Diviciăcus Haeduus respondit: hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequănorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequănis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatūs essent perferendi.

XXXIII. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit pollicitusque est, sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis facturum. Hac oratione habitā concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, in primis quod Haeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos

30. **consanguineos.** This may have rested originally upon the claim made by the Haedui (but also by the Arverni) to a *descent from* the Trojans. Tacitus and Cicero both allude to *the recognition by* the Romans of the consanguinity of the *Haedui.*

in servitute atque in dicione videbat Germānorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequănos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romāni turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germānos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, populo Romano periculosum videbat, neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutŏnique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Ităliam contenderent; quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

XXXIV. Quam ob rem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque conloquio deligeret: velle sese de re publicā et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: si quid ipsi a Caesăre opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum locum contrahere posse. Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in suā Galliā, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesări aut omnino populo Romāno negoti esset.

10. **Cimbri . . . fecissent.** The wars with these invaders lasted from 113 B. C. to 101 B. C., when they were finally crushed and annihilated by Marius.

11. I have omitted the words **praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia *nostra* Rhodanus divideret** after **contenderent**. *Cf. last note on page 8.*

XXXV. His responsis ad Caesărem relatis iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: quoniam tanto suo populique Romāni beneficio adfectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romāno gratiam referret, ut in conloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re discendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse, quae ab eo postularet: primum ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Haeduis, redderet Sequănisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate eius reddĕre illis liceret; neve Haeduos iniuriā lacesseret neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romāno perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram; si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messallā, M. Pisōne consulibus senatus censuisset, uti quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo rei publicae facere posset, Haeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum.

XXXVI. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: ius esse belli, ut qui vicissent, iis quos vicissent quem ad modum vellent imperarent. Item populum Romā-

5. **appellatus esset.** As Ariovistus knew, and as, of course, Caesar would have admitted, the practical value of these kindnesses was microscopic; but then, has not this style of talking always been the regular thing in both public and private diplomacy the world over?

13. **illis.** To be taken with **reddere** and referring to the **Haedui.**

15. I have omitted **id** after **Si.** Cf. last note on page 8.

18. ***consulibus.*** *I. e.* in 61 B. C. Cf. Ch. II.

19. ***quod.*** *Lit.* "as to what," i. e. "so far as."

num victis non ad alterīus praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romāno non praescriberet, quem ad modum suo iure uteretur, non oportere se a populo Romāno in suo iure impediri. Haeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesărem iniuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectīgalia sibi deteriora faceret. Haeduis se obsides redditurum non esse neque his neque eorum sociis iniuriā bellum inlaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis pendĕrent; si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi Romāni afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret, se Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine suā pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum, quid invicti Germāni, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIIII tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

XXXVII. Haec eodem tempore Caesări mandata referebantur et legati ab Haeduis et a Trevĕris veniebant: Haedui questum, quod Harūdes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur: sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Trevĕri autem, pagos cen-

12, 13. **longe . . . afuturum.** A picturesque way of saying that the Roman alliance would prove of little assistance to them.

18. **subissent.** Not, of course, necessarily all the time in Gaul.

19. **possent.** It must be admitted that Ariovistus had the best of the discussion, and that the Romans could really justify their attack upon him on no higher grounds than those of a purely selfish public expediency.

21. **Treveris.** See map, B 7. For some account of the nation, see *Appendix I.*

tum Sueborum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Sueborum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese coniunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentariā quam celerrime potuit comparatā, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

XXXVIII. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontiōnem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequănorum, contendere. Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas, ĭdemque naturā loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis ut circĭno circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit, reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum DC, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magnā altitudine, ita ut radices eius montis ex utrāque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido coniungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium conlocat.

XXXIX. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontiōnem rei frumentariae commeatūsque causā moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac merca-

1. **Sueborum.** See map, B 8 and 9. For an account of them, cf. Book IV., Ch. I., and see Appendix I.

11. **Vesontionem.** See map, C 6. The modern name of the town is Besançon.

12. I have omitted **triduique viam a suis finibus processisse** *after* **contendere.** Cf. last note on page 8.

torum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germānos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, — saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, — tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae causā Caesărem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius aliā causā inlatā, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut eius voluntate discedere liceret; non nulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Horum vocibus

3. **congressos.** This word refers more particularly to **Galli** above, who had met the Germans in battle, but may not inappropriately be understood as applying also to the traders, who had perhaps found something of the same qualities flashing out in the Germans when they suspected that they were the victims of commercial sharp practice.

7. **tribunis.** For some account of these officers, see the description of the Roman army organization, Appendix III., OFFICERS.

8. **amicitiae causa.** This expression is sometimes seized upon as an example of Caesar's habit of putting things in an exaggeratedly flattering way to himself, but there seems to be no reason for seeing in the words anything more than the customary characterization of the class of persons mentioned. It had become quite the regular thing for military commanders to be so accompanied.

17. I have omitted the words **vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur** after **miserabantur**. Cf. last note on page 8.

ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. Non nulli etiam Caesări nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.

XL. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: primum, quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romāni amicitiam adpetisse; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum iudicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum perspectā eum neque suam neque populi Romāni gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentiā impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? Aut cur de suā virtute aut de ipsius diligentiā despera-

8. **Etiam** points forward here as ordinarily — "even carried word to Caesar."

13. The assembly here spoken of was not the ordinary **consilium** (council of war), which consisted of the **legati** and **tribuni**, with the centurions of the first rank (**primorum ordinum centuriones**. Cf. Appendix III., OFFICERS). As there were sixty centurions in a legion and six legions in Caesar's army at this time, it will be seen that the assembled body was a good-sized one.

24. ***ipsius.*** Used because **sua** had already been employed to *refer to the subject* of the sentence. Taken in connection with

rent? Factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoriā, cum Cimbris et Teutŏnis a C. Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Itălĭā servīli tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo iudicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causā timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem Germānos, quibuscum saepe numero Helvētii congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent, reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes iam de pugnā et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitūs capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum

the various forms of **se** or **suus** previously appearing in the chapter, these two words brilliantly illustrate the effectiveness with which Caesar, to the occasional despair of the modern grammarian, uses the pronoun which designates most clearly the persons in mind.

3. **pulsis.** In 102–101 B. C.

5. **tumultu.** The war raised in 73–71 B. C. by Spartacus and the gladiators, who were largely German captives reduced to slavery.

5. **quos.** Referring to the idea of soldiers implied in *servili tumultu.*

aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequănos, Leucos, Lingŏnes subministrare, iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se eā re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gestā fortunam defuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetuā vitā, felicitatem Helvētiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum et proximā nocte de quartā vigiliā castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor plus valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum solā decimā legione iturum, de quā non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

XLI. Hac oratione habitā mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi inlata est, princepsque X. legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesări satis facerent: se neque umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summā belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione acceptā et itinere exquisito per Diviciăcum, quod

13. ***vigilia.*** Soon after two o'clock in the morning. Cf. note *on the same word,* page 18.

ex Gallis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quartā vigiliā, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est Ariovisti copias a nostris milia passuum IIII et XX abesse.

XLII. Cognito Caesăris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de conloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset seque id sine periculo facere posse existimaret. Non respuit condicionem Caesar iamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat, pro suis tantis populique Romāni in eum beneficiis cognitis suis postulatis fore, uti pertinaciā desisteret. Dies conloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe cum legati ultro citroque inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad conloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu veniret: aliā ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque conloquium interpositā causā tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis X. imponere,

1–3. **ut . . . duceret.** This clause is commonly taken as explaining **itinere exquisito** and meaning "that [the road] would lead the army," etc., but it seems to me much more likely that Caesar is the subject of **duceret**, and that the clause points forward instead of back. In that case it means, "[started soon after two o'clock, as he had said he would do] with a view to leading his army," etc.

26. I have omitted the words **cui quam maxime confidebat** *before* ***imponere***. Cf. last note on page 8.

ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus X. legionis dixit: plus quam pollicitus esset Caesărem facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco X. legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere.

XLIII. Planities erat magna et in eā tumulus terrenus, satis grandis. Hic locus aequum fere spatium a castris Ariovisti et Caesăris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad conloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus CC ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut conloquerentur et praeter se denos ad conloquium adducerent postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatūsque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum nequĕ aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate suā ac senatūs ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatūs consulta quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent,

5, 6. **ad equum rescribere.** "Enrolled them among the riders," a play upon the double meaning of **equites** as "cavalry" when military things are spoken of, and as "knights" when the different classes of citizens are thought of.

11. **Devexerat,** with **equis** as ablative of instrument, means "had brought down [from his camp] on horseback." The compound verb is used either because the camp is thought of as on slightly higher ground, or with the same feeling with which one *sometimes speaks* of going down from the capital to the provinces.

24. **ipsis.** *I. e.* the Romans.

ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam adpetissent. Populi Romāni hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratiā, dignitate, honore auctiores vellet esse; quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romāni attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Haeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germānorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

XLIV. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesăris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: transisse Rhenum sese non suā sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magnā spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuērint. Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod suā voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romāni sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere atque se hac spe petisse. Si per populum Romānum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romāni amicitiam quam adpetierit. Quod

1. **ut.** Notice that this is an indirect question, **ut** meaning *"how."*

multitudinem Germānorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae oppugnandae causā facere; eius rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romānum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romāni Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a senatu Haeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrŏgum proximo Haeduos Romānis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Haedui secum et cum Sequănis habuissent, auxilio populi Romāni usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulatā Caesărem amicitiā quem exercitum in Galliā habeat sui opprimendi causā habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romāni gratum esse facturum, — id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, — quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte re-

8, 9. **Sibi** refers, of course, to Caesar, **suas** (and **suam**) to Ariovistus.

9. **Provinciam suam.** Notice how much finer this emphasis is than if he had said **suam provinciam.**

15. **proximo.** The disturbances of 61 B. C. Cf. note on **nuper**, page 13.

23, 24. **nobilibus . . . gratum.** Cicero's letters contain *various interesting* allusions to the machinations of Caesar's enemies at Rome.

dimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum.

XLV. Multa a Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset: neque suam neque populi Romāni consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios desereret, neque se iudicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romāni. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutēnos a Q. Fabio Maxĭmo, quibus populus Romānus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romāni iustissimum esse in Galliā imperium; si iudicium senatūs observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

XLVI. Dum haec in conloquio geruntur, Caesări nuntiatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros coicere. Caesar loquendi finem fecit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsis hostibus dici posset, eos ab se per fidem in conloquio circumventos. Postea quam in vulgus militum ela-

1–4. This sentence, coming after the spirited and even violent language of Ariovistus, is the key to his real state of mind as to the probable result of a collision with the Romans, and as to the situation as a whole.

10. **Maximo.** This was in 121 B.C. For the position of the Arverni and Ruteni, see map, D 5. For some account of Fabius, see Appendix II.

13. Quod si. "As to which if," practically equivalent to, "*It would appear*, therefore, that if."

tum est, quā arrogantiā in conloquio Ariovistus usus omni Galliā Romānis interdixisset, impetumque (ut) in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res conloquium diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pugnandi maius exercitui iniectum est.

XLVII. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesărem legatos misit: velle se de iis rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum conloquio diem constitueret aut, si id minus vellet, ex suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Conloquendi Caesări causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Germāni retineri non potuerant, quin tela in nostros coicerent. Legatum sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris obiecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est, C. Valĕrium Procillum, C. Valĕri Cabūri filium, summā virtute et humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a C. Valĕrio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, quā multā iam Ariovistus longinquā consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germānis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et una M. Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur,

13. I have omitted **ex suis** after **Legatum**. Cf. last note on page 8.

16. **Cabūri**. The quantity marked in this name is only a matter of probability, nor is anything further known of its bearer than is here indicated. The Gaius Valerius Flaccus, by whom his father had been given Roman citizenship, and whose name the Gallic family had therefore, according to regular custom adopted, was governor (as praetor or as propraetor) of the Gallic province in 83 B. C.

19. **multa**. In English, an adverb modifying the verb would be used instead of this adjective agreeing with the pronoun.

22. The name of this Metius appears on certain coins as a *man appointed by* Caesar, when he was master of the Roman *world, to superintend* the coining of money.

22. ***hospitio***. This right of hospitality or guest-friendship h

His mandavit, ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: quid ad se venirent? An speculandi causā? Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit.

XLVIII. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum VI a Caesăris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie eius diei praeter castra Caesăris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequănis et Haeduis supportaretur, Caesărem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos V Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germāni exercuerant: equitum milia erant VI, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copiā singuli singulos suae salutis causā delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad eos se equites recipiebant; hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis sublevati equorum cursum adaequarent.

in the ancient world a sort of official character, and implied a closeness of relation quite beyond what is indicated by the English words "guest" and "hospitality." The relation was handed down from father to son, and in early times was typified by a piece of pottery (called by the Romans **tessera hospitalis**), broken into two parts, of which one was given to each of the two people who entered into the relation.

26. ***adaequarent.*** Tacitus mentions this method of fighting

XLIX. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germāni consederant, circiter passus DC ab his, castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici instructā ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire iussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus DC, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum XVI milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros terrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo setius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones relīquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reliquas in castra maiora reduxit.

L. Proximo die instituto suo Caesar ex castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris progressus aciem instruxit hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridie exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et inlatis et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germānos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres fami-

in the Germania, Ch. VI. Other nations than the Germans also practiced it.

5. **acieque triplici.** Cf. Appendix III., ORDER OF BATTLE.

6, 7. ***castra munire.*** For a description of the Roman camp, *see Appendix III.*, THE FORTIFIED CAMP.

liae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germānos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

LI. Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est relīquit, alarios omnes in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructā acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germāni suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harūdes, Marcomannos, Tribōcos, Vangiŏnes, Nemĕtes, Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam raedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fugā relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae ad proelium proficiscentes milites passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romānis traderent.

1. **declararent.** For further remarks on this subject, see Tacitus, Germania, Chs. VIII.–XI.

4. **contendissent.** Compare the answer of the Spartans when the Athenians sent for their aid to repel the Persian invasion just before the battle of Marathon, Herodotus, VI. 106.

6. **alarios.** *I. e.* the allies, so called because in earlier times they were stationed on the wings of the legions.

8. **quod.** The order of these clauses would be different in English — Caesar arranged the allies as indicated to make them look like Roman legionaries, because he was so inferior to the enemy in the number of his strongest foot-force.

13–15. The only two of these nations that have any prominence in history are the Marcomanni, who were the leaders of the great German war in the time of the Emperor Antoninus, about two hundred years after Caesar's death, and the Suebi. See Appendix I.

LII. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit. (Et) ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coiciendi non daretur. Reiectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germāni celeriter, ex consuetudine suā, phalange factā impetūs gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri, qui in phalanga insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam coniecta esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset P. Crassus adulescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

LIII. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt nec prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter V pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus con-

1, 2. **legatos et quaestorem.** For an account of these officers, see Appendix III., OFFICERS.

10. **phalange.** See Appendix III., THE PHALANX. Whether in this German phalanx arrangement the lines behind the first held their shields over their heads so as to form a sort of sloping roof, like the Roman **testudo** formation, or whether Caesar's statement about the soldiers leaping upon the phalanx and tearing away the shields applies to the shields of the front line only, is a matter of dispute.

16. **Crassus** was a son of the so-called triumvir, and was slain *with him in* the Parthian expedition of 53 B. C. See also *Appendix II.*

fisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus eā profūgit; reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione, quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norĭca, regis Vocciōnis soror, quam in Galliā duxerat a fratre missam: utraque in eā fugā periit; duae filiae: harum altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fugā trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu insequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesări non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum ex manibus hostium sibi restitutum videbat neque eius calamitate de tantā voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

LIV. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos senserunt: insecuti magnum ex iis numerum occiderunt. Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo quam tempus anni

5. **Duae.** Among the Germans it was only the leaders who had more than one wife, and they did so for reasons of state.

21. **eum.** *I. e.* Caesar.

27. **maturius.** The time of this battle was about the tenth of September, 58 B. C.

postulabat, in hiberna in Sequănos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labiēnum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventūs agendos profectus est.

2. **Labienum.** See Appendix II.

3. **conventus.** It was customary for the governor of a province, after having spent the summer in military operations, to appoint certain days in winter for holding court thus in his province.

APPENDIX.

I. THE INHABITANTS OF GAUL.

Of the three chief peoples whom Caesar names as occupying Gaul, the Celts or Gauls seem to have been the principal representatives of the great Celtic race, which had in earlier times occupied much of Germany and Austria, and even of Asia Minor, as well as France, Belgium, and at least part of England. The Galatians of the New Testament were a branch of the race, and among modern peoples, the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh are of essentially Celtic origin, as well as the French. The Belgians were also primarily Celtic, but had become mixed with the German race so far as to have a sort of racial individuality of their own. The Aquitanians belonged, not to the Celtic, but to the Iberian race, whose chief representatives at Caesar's time occupied Spain.

Of most of the different tribes of Gauls mentioned in this first book of the Gallic War comparatively little is known beyond what Caesar tells us, but it tends to keep them distinct in the mind if one remembers the following facts about them: —

Allobrŏges. A once powerful tribe who lived between the Sequăni on the north and the Roman province on the south, and who had been brought under the Roman sway in 121 B. C., although they seem not to have been formally incorporated into the Roman province until after their insurrection in 61 B. C. Catiline's conspirators unsuccessfully tried to persuade the ambassadors of the Allobrŏges *to join the* conspiracy of 63 B. C. Their chief town was

Vienna, now Vienne in France, and **Genāva**, the modern Geneva, was their frontier town towards the Helvetians.

Boii (or Boi). A large and powerful tribe, of which those mentioned here were but a small part, that joined the Helvetian migration, and after its failure were allowed, at the request of the Haeduans, to settle in their territory. Caesar says they came from beyond the Rhine, and there had been powerful sections of the tribe living on the Danube, and in the country now called (from their name) Bohemia. Another portion of this same tribe of Boii had early settled in northern Italy, and had had many bloody collisions with the Romans until their subjugation in 191 B. C. and subsequent incorporation into the province of **Gallia Cisalpīna**.

Haedui. The most prominent of the Gallic tribes from the earliest times of our acquaintance with them. They had been called **socii** and **consanguinei** by the Romans as early as 121 B. C. They lived between the Saône (**Arar**) and Loire (**Liger**), and their chief town was **Bibracte** (map, C 5), the modern Autun. The prominent Haeduans mentioned by Cæsar in Book I. are the brothers, **Diviciăcus** and **Dumnorix**, and the magistrate, **Liscus**.

Helvētii. A warlike Celtic tribe whose abode corresponded roughly with the part of modern Switzerland north of the Alps and west of Lake Constance. Their country was divided into four districts or cantons, of which only two are known to us by name (**Tigurīnus** and **Verbigĕnus**). The Tigurīni and the people of one other canton joined the invasion of Gaul and Italy by the Cimbri and Teutŏni, and the Tigurīni under Divīco during that time (107 B. C.) destroyed the Roman army under **L. Cassius Longīnus**. The only prominent Helvetian mentioned by Caesar, besides the aged **Divīco**, was the ill-fated **Orgetŏrix**.

Latobrīgi. A tribe who were neighbors of the Raurăci and Tulingi, and who joined them in the Helvetian migration.

Raurăci. *A tribe* living in the region northeast of the *Sequăni.* *Their chief* town was the little place near Bâle,

in Switzerland, now called Augst, and in the time of the Roman Empire known as **Augusta** (**Raurăcorum**), or, later, as **Raurăcum**. They joined the Helvetian migration.

Santŏni (sometimes wrongly called Santŏnes). A powerful tribe living on the west coast of Gaul, north of Aquitania.

Sequăni. Neighbors towards the east, and especial rivals of the Haedui. Their chief town was **Vesontio**, the modern Besançon. They, together with the Arverni, had given the invitation to **Ariovistus** to come into Gaul and help them against the Haedui.

Trevĕri. A half-Belgian tribe, whose territory extended along both banks of the Moselle (**Mosella**), and eastward as far as the Rhine. They were especially famous for their cavalry. In the time of the Roman Empire their chief town was called **Augusta Trevĕrorum**, the modern Trèves (German Trier).

Tulingi. A tribe who lived between the Raurăci and the Helvētii, and who also joined the migratory expedition.

[The other Gallic tribes mentioned in Book I. are not of importance enough to make it worth while to load the memory with their names. The two following German tribes, however, are important.]

Marcomanni. A name first found in Caesar, and meaning "fighting inhabitants of the borderland." To just what German tribes it first belonged is not clear, but it became famous in the time of the early Empire as applied to tribes on the Danube, and still more famous in the wars of these tribes against the Romans in the hundred years from Domitian to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A. D. 81–180).

Suebi. A conglomeration of German tribes who occupied the southern half, or somewhat more, of what is now *Germany*, and differed from the other German peoples in

their nomadic way of life and in various customs. They were divided into a hundred cantons.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

CRASSUS (P. LICINIUS — DIVES). One of Caesar's best lieutenants for the first four years of his Gallic campaigns, distinguishing himself especially in the war against the Aquitanians in 56 B. C. Caesar afterwards sent him to assist his father, the triumvir, M. Crassus, against the Parthians, and he was killed in the ill-fated expedition of 53 B. C. He was an intimate friend of Cicero, although considerably younger.

DIVICIĂCUS. A prominent Haeduan, who, when the rest of his tribe took an oath of subordination to Ariovistus, refused to do so, and went to Rome to beg aid for his people. He was a devoted friend and assistant of Caesar and the Roman cause in the Gallic wars. In Rome he had also become acquainted with Cicero. When his brother Dumnorix was detected by Caesar in underhand hostility, Diviciacus interceded for him, although his own position of chief influence in his tribe had been wrested from him by Dumnorix.

GABINIUS (AULUS), consul with L. Piso for 58 B. C., was the tribune of the commons who, in 67 B. C., introduced the law that gave Pompey his vast military power against the pirates. He was made lieutenant to Pompey the next year in the war against Mithridates, and for some years showed himself a general of ability in Asia, but a most oppressive extortioner of money to pay his immense debts. His career in the province of Syria, after his consulship, was of the same character. On his return to Rome, there were brought up against him not only charges of extortion (**repetundarum**) and bribery (**de ambitu**), but also of treason (**maiestatis**), for having restored the Egyptian Aulētes to his throne at Pompey's bidding against the will of the senate. He escaped on this last charge, but was convicted on the first, in spite of the efforts of Pompey in his behalf,

and was sent into exile. In 49 B. C. he was recalled to Rome, with other exiles, by Caesar, and sided with him in the Civil War, although he took no active part against Pompey until after the battle of Pharsalus. He died at Salōnae in Dalmatia, in the winter of 48–47 B. C., on his way to Caesar with new reinforcements from Italy.

LABIĒNUS (TITUS). Had been tribune of the commons when Cicero was consul (63 B. C.). He was the best and most trusted of Caesar's lieutenants, and his achievements in Gaul will be found noted in many places in the Gallic War; but he was also the only one of Caesar's officers who deserted him and went over to Pompey at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was killed at the battle of Munda, in Africa, 45 B. C.

MAXIMUS (Q. FABIUS — ALLOBROGICUS). He was a nephew of the younger Scipio Africanus, and seems to have served in his army as quaestor at the siege of Numantia in 133 B. C. He saw service later in Sicily and in Spain, and as consul in 121 B. C. administered to the Allobrŏges and their allies the crushing defeat which gave him his title of Allobrogicus.

MESSALLA (M. VALERIUS — NIGER), one of the consuls of the year 61 B. C., is spoken of by Cicero as an effective orator. He was censor in 55 B. C.

PISO (L. (CALPURNIUS) — CAESONĪNUS), one of the consuls of the year 58 B. C., was father-in-law of Caesar, and owed his consulship to Caesar's influence. He had already narrowly escaped conviction on a charge of extortion, but after the consulship still governed his province of Macedonia very badly in 57 and 56 B. C. Even after this he was made censor in 50 B. C. In the Civil War he remained neutral, and though after Caesar's death he was bold enough to resist, unsupported, the arbitrary proceedings of Antonius, he later became reconciled with him.

PISO (M. PUPIUS), consul with Messalla for 61 B. C., really belonged to the gens Calpurnia, but was adopted by a certain Marcus Pupius. Piso had been quaestor in

85 B. C., and one of Pompey's lieutenants in the Mithradatic War, just before his consulship. As an orator he had even served Cicero as a model, though in later days Cicero's opinion of him seems to have been unfavorably influenced by personal enmity.

POMPTĪNUS (GAIUS). Had been a lieutenant under M. Crassus in the war against Spartacus (71 B. C.), and praetor in the year of Cicero's consulship (63 B. C.), before he quelled the uprising of the Allobrŏges in 61 B. C. He went to Cilicia as lieutenant to Cicero in 51 B. C., but did not stay with him till his return.

III. THE ROMAN ARMY.

THE Roman army at the time of the Gallic War consisted of a body of heavy-armed infantry, made up of a number of legions (**legiōnes**), special companies of light-armed auxiliary infantry, and various troops of cavalry.

THE LEGIONS were composed exclusively of Roman citizens, and were numbered in a consecutive series, though serving under different commanders in different parts of the Roman world. Roman citizenship had been granted to all the Italian allies about thirty years before Caesar went to Gaul. In the Civil War legions called **legiōnes vernaculae**, and not consisting of Roman citizens, were enlisted in the countries where the war was fought. At that time, also, the opposing generals numbered their legions separately, so that Augustus had afterwards to renumber the whole army.

Each legion consisted of ten cohorts (**cohortes**), each cohort of three maniples (**manipŭli**), and each maniple of two centuries (**centuriae**) or lines (**ordĭnes**). The regulation number of men in a legion is not definitely known, but the average number is reckoned at about 4,000. Instances are found, however, of legions containing widely different numbers, as a result of their losses in service. On the basis of this average a cohort would contain 400, a maniple 133, and a century 66 or 67, instead of the hun-

dred which its name implies, and which it had contained in early times when the army was differently organized. (Compare the "companies" of our army, with their theoretical number of 100 men.)

OFFICERS. In Caesar's army each legion was commanded by a **legātus**, or by some other officer whom Caesar put in command for the time being. A **quaestor** is so spoken of in Book I. Ch. LII. The **legāti** were not appointed as commanders of special troops, but as assistants to the commanding general. Caesar had ten **legāti**, so that, as in the first year of the Gallic War he had but six legions, some of his **legāti** must have served in other capacities than as commanders of legions. Sometimes, as in the winter quarters, a **legātus** had more than one legion under his command. Each general had one **quaestor**, who was properly the treasurer of the army, but was sometimes also employed as a commander. Each legion had also six military tribunes (**tribūni militum**). Before Caesar made the **legāti** commanders of the separate legions as such, the tribunes had taken turns in commanding their legions, but after that their position lost its importance. Each century was led by a centurion (**centurio**), so that each legion had sixty centurions. The centurions were soldiers who had been promoted from the ranks by the commander of the army, but how they were ranked among themselves is not known, except that those of the first line so called (**centuriōnes primi ordĭnis**) made a sort of higher class by themselves. There was also a class of assistant centurions called **optiōnes**, who were either chosen by the centurions themselves or appointed by the **tribūni militum**.

STANDARDS. The chief standard of the legion was the eagle (**aquila**), carried by an **aquilĭfer**. This standard consisted of a silver (occasionally even a gold) eagle, with spread wings, and sometimes grasping thunderbolts in its claws; it was fixed upon the end of a wooden staff. Each maniple had a standard of its own, called a **signum**, which usually represented some animal, and was carried by a **signĭfer**.

THE LIGHT-ARMED COMPANIES consisted usually of slingers (**funditōres**) and bowmen (**sagittarii**). They were either enlisted from the subject-allies or hired from independent foreign nations. They were combined into cohorts, and their commanding officers (called **praefecti**) were generally Romans.

THE CAVALRY also consisted of foreigners, and was distributed among the different legions, being commanded as a rule by Romans. A troop of cavalry consisted of **alae** (wings), which were commanded by **praefecti** (**equitum**), and divided into **turmae**, or squads, and these into **decuriae**, led by **decuriōnes**. The **decuriōnes** in the cavalry, like the **centuriōnes** of the infantry, each had an **optio** as an assistant. How far the number of men in a **decuria** varied from the theoretical number ten is unknown, nor is there any exact information on which to reckon the numbers that made up different cavalry divisions. The **turmae** had standards called **vexilla**, quadrangular pieces of cloth of different colors in different squads. These were carried upon poles, being attached to a horizontal cross-piece, like the banners of many societies nowadays, not like our military flags.

SPECIAL TROOPS. Besides the regular troops, the army contained a body of **evocāti**, or veterans, whose term of service had expired, but who accepted the invitation of the general to join his standard. There were also certain soldiers called **beneficiarii**, picked out of the legions and assigned to different officers for special duties. These two classes of troops were exempt from guard-duty and from labor on the fortifications.

ENGINEERING OPERATIONS. In earlier times the army had had a special engineer corps, under command of a **praefectus fabrum**, but in Caesar's army the very varied and extensive engineering operations, of which we read in the Gallic War, seem to have been performed by the regular soldiers. The **praefecti fabrum** were retained as special adjutants, as it were, to the general, even after the

fabri as such disappeared, though the only officers with this title mentioned in Caesar's works were in Pompey's army in the Civil War.

THE LEADER was called **dux** until, as the result of some victory regarded as especially glorious, he was hailed by his army as **imperātor**. His staff consisted of the **legāti** and **quaestor**, and he had also a body-guard of picked soldiers and young gentlemen from Rome, who accompanied him to learn the art of war, and were assigned to special duties when desirable.

THE MUSIC CORPS of the army consisted of four kinds of trumpeters, the **tubicĭnes**, **cornicĭnes**, and **bucinatōres** for the infantry, and the **liticĭnes** for the cavalry. Of their instruments the **tuba** and **lituus** were straight trumpets, the first spreading at the end, the other with the end turned up like a shepherd's crook; the **cornu** was curved in a circular sweep; the **bucĭna** was of twisted metal, and curved more sharply.

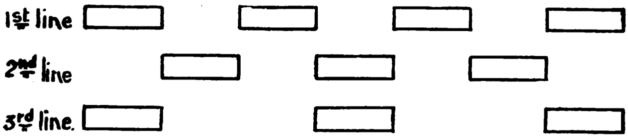
UNIFORMS, in the modern sense, were not used in the Roman army. The soldier wore the tunic (**tunĭca**), with a girdle (**cingŭlum**) outside of it, to which his sword was attached. Over this he had a **sagum**, or military cloak, which was fastened on the right shoulder by a clasp (**fibŭla**), and came down to the knee. On his feet he wore a sort of half-boot, called **calĭga**, not unlike ours, though sometimes a mere stout sole bound upon the foot with straps, and leaving the toes bare, seems to have been used.

ARMOR. In battle the **sagum** was, of course, left off, and a leather or metal breastplate (**lorīca**) was put on, as also a metal helmet (**galea** or **cassis**) with a crest (**crista**) of feathers. In earlier times **ocreae**, or metal front-pieces for the leg below the knee, were also worn, fastened by buckles behind; but they had gone out of use at Caesar's time. The shield was the large rectangular **scutum**, made of hide, with metal rims at the top and bottom, and curved lengthwise like the bark of a tree.

For WEAPONS the soldier of the legion carried a pilum,

or javelin, and a short sword (**gladius Hispānus**). The javelin consisted of a wooden shaft, with an iron bar imbedded in one end of it, the whole length being some six feet, of which the shaft made rather more than half. The end of the javelin was pointed and hardened, but the rest of the iron was soft, so that the weapon bent when it pierced anything, and was thus harder to pull out. The sword was two-edged, but was used rather for thrusting than cutting. It was carried on the right side, so as not to be interfered with by the shield. Sometimes a knife (**pugio**) was worn in the belt on the left side. The old Roman cavalry had carried long swords and heavy spears, but Caesar's foreign cavalry carried light arms. The slingers used sometimes stones, sometimes pointed lead slugs.

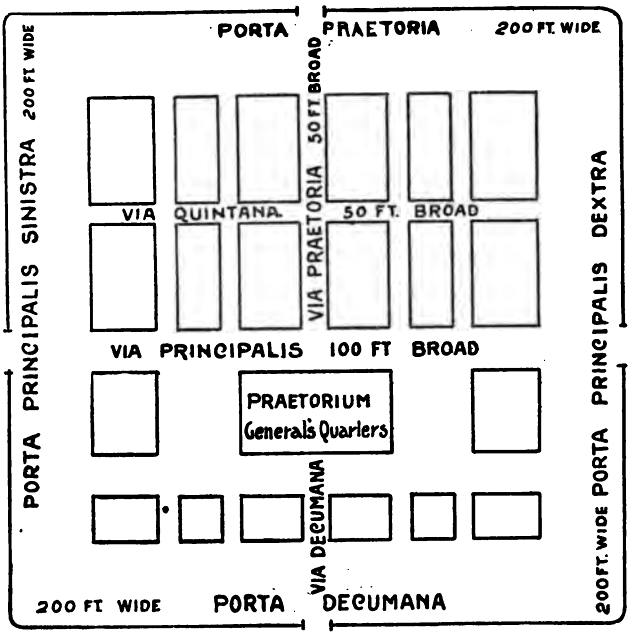
The favorite ORDER OF BATTLE was the so-called "triple line" (**acies triplex**). The ten cohorts of the legion were drawn up in three lines, of which the first contained four cohorts, and the other two, three each. The cohorts of each line were separated from each other by the space occupied by a single cohort in width. Thus: —



This arrangement allowed the light-armed skirmishers, by whom the battle was generally begun, to draw back through the intervals of the legion without confusion. Then the first and second lines could attack alternately, relieving each other at intervals, or the second line could close up with the first and the whole seven cohorts advance with unbroken front, while the three cohorts of the third line were held back as a reserve.

THE FORTIFIED CAMP. The Roman army rested every night in a fortified camp, made after the day's march whenever they moved from one locality to another. The ordi-

nary form of camp was a rectangle with rounded corners, surrounded by an earthen wall (generally sodded on the outer side), with a ditch outside of it. Inside the wall a space two hundred feet wide was left clear (except for the presence of the baggage and possible booty). The general arrangement of a camp can be readily seen from the following diagram, though, of course, different camps varied in details, as well as in size.



The side of the camp which contained the **porta praetoria**, was toward the enemy. The officers' tents were grouped about the **praetorium**, and there were a raised platform (**tribūnal**), from which the general addressed the assembled soldiers, and a place called an **augurāle**, containing an altar, but just how these were arranged, as well